

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 5651

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, GE, UR, CSCE

SUBJ: SOVIET/GDR TREATY

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN OCTOBER 14 MEETING OF NATO POLITICAL COMMITTEE, FRG POLAD (CITRON) DISTRIBUTED PAPERS SUMMARIZING CEREMONIAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF HONECKER TRIP TO MOSCOW AND PROVIDING BONN'S ANALYSIS OF GDR/SOVIET TREATY. END SUMMARY.

1. FRG PAPER ON ATMOSPHERE OF GDR/SOVIET MEETING SUGGESTS THAT COMMENTARY BY BOTH SIDES ABOUT RENEWAL OF THEIR "CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP" FEATURED REFERENCES TO CSCE, WITH FINAL COMMUNIQUE STATING THAT HELSINKI FINAL ACT HAD "PUT THE FINAL SEAL" ON WORLD WAR II. IN HIS REMARKS, BREZHNEV NOTED EMERGENCE OF NEW GDR NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND REFERRED TO "IDENTITY OF THOUGHT AND POLITICAL UNITY" BETWEEN SED AND CPSU.

3. IN FRG VIEW, HONECKER'S REPLY TO BREZHNEV CONSTITUTED A "DECLARATION OF UNRESTRICTED SUBSERVIENCE AS HAS HARDLY EVER BEEN SEEN IN MOSCOW" - A RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH GDR RECOGNIZES CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIET PARTY'S PRIMACY IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. TO FURTHER MAKE ITS POINT, FRG PAPER CONCLUDES BY OBSERVING "FACT THAT THE WHOLE LEADERSHIP OF A COUNTRY SPENDS ITS NATIONAL HOLIDAY IN THE CAPITAL OF ANOTHER COUNTRY IS HIGHLY

UNUSUAL BUT CHARACTERISTIC EVENT."

4. FRG REP ALSO DISTRIBUTED PAPER (TEXT BELOW) ANALYZING KEY PROVISIONS OF SOVIET/GDR TREATY.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. ON THE OCCASION OF THE 26TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTING-UP OF THE GDR ON 7 OCTOBER 1975, THE EXPECTED ADJUSTMENT OF THE EXISTING FRIENDSHIP TREATIES BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR OF 1955 AND 1964 TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF 1975 TOOK PLACE BY THE SIGNING OF A NEW TREATY ON FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

2. THE REVISED TREATY REVEALS INTERESTS GOING BEYOND THE SETTLEMENT OF BILATERAL QUESTIONS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE SOVIET UNION. THUS, ONE OF ITS OBJECTS IS TO GIVE EMPHASIS TO PRINCIPLES OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT WHICH FIND FAVOUR WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR BY EMBODYING THEM IN A BILATERAL TREATY, WHILE OTHER AND LESS ACCEPTABLE PRINCIPLES ARE PASSED OVER IN SILENCE, THEREBY DISTURBING THE BALANCED NATURE OF THE CSCE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. WHILE ARTICLE 6 OF THE TREATY UNDERLINES THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, THERE IS NO REFERENCE TO PEACEFUL FRONTIER CHANGES WHICH ARE ADMISSIBLE UNDER THE CSCE FINAL ACT.

3. BY AGREEING TO THE SENTENCE IN THE PREAMBLE ABOUT THE "COMMON INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" TO "SUPPORT, CONSOLIDATE AND PROTECT THE SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS" AS WELL AS BY THE WILLINGNESS DECLARED IN ARTICLE 4 "TO TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION AND DEFENCE OF THE HISTORICAL ACHIEVEMENTS... OF SOCIALISM", THE GDR HAS SUBMITTED TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESTRICTED SOVEREIGNTY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ("BREZHNEV DOCTRINE").

4. ACCORDING TO THE PREAMBLE, THE PARTIES WILL ENDEAVOUR "TO ENSURE THE MOST FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES
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AND OBJECTIVES OF SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY" THIS NEW FORMULA SEEKS TO PERPETRATE THE CLASS STRUGGLE PRINCIPALLY AGAINST THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, BECAUSE THESE ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET POST-CSCE POLICY.

5. AS OPPOSED TO THE TREATY OF 1964, THE ASSISTANCE CLAUSE OF ARTICLE 8 NO LONGER CONTAINS THE GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATION TO EUROPE. THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE OTHER NEWLY-CONCLUDED FRIENDSHIP TREATIES OF THE SOVIET UNION SINCE THE SIXTIES AND MAY BE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE ON ACCOUNT OF CHINA BUT IS NOT CONSIDERED TO HAVE ANY PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

6. AS FAR AS THE WORDING OF THE TREATY IS CONCERNED, THE SOVIET

UNION HAS SEEN TO IT THAT THERE ARE NO CHANGES WHICH EXPLICITLY SACRIFICE ITS LEGAL POSITIONS IN GERMANY AND BERLIN, AS THIS MIGHT HAVE LED TO CONFLICTS WITH THE WESTERN POWERS BECAUSE OF TREATY VIOLATIONS. MOSCOW CAN, HOWEVER, REGARD IT AS A GAIN THAT A MODEL HAS BEEN DEvised FOR MAKING THE OTHER ALLIES TOE THE SAME LINE; IT IS LIKELY THAT THIS MODEL WILL BE OFFERED ELSEWHERE IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP. THUS, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A SUCCESSFUL STREAM-LINING OF RELATIONS WITHIN ITS CAMP, A SUCCESS WHICH WILL MAKE A GOOD IMPRESSION AT THE XXVTH PARTY CONGRESS AND WHICH IS LIKELY TO PROVE EVEN MORE VALUABLE IF THE DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE SHOULD PERSIST.

7. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, A TREATY SIGNED BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR DOES NOT IN ANY WAY ALTER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FOUR POWERS FOR GERMANY AS A WHOLE AND ESPECIALLY DOES NOT AFFECT THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES CONCERNING BERLIN AS REAFFIRMED IN THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT.
END TEXT.

5. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM THE DUTCH REP (HORAK) ABOUT REASONS FOR FRG'S PROTESTING GDR/SOVIET AGREEMENT, CITRON SUGGESTED AS PERSONAL OBSERVATION THAT BONN WANTED TO REASSERT ITS CLAIM THAT GERMAN REUNIFICATION REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION GIVEN RECENT EASTERN INSISTENCE THAT CSCE FINAL ACT REPRESENTS END OF POST-WORLD WAR II ERA.STREATOR

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